5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 CC6 Iban CC6

by me at Brunei as to whether he liked to come here, and permission being obtained at the same time from the authorities at Brunei. 567 687

Where it can be proved that a master has not supported an *in*door slave, nor called upon him or her to work for five years, the slave is entitled to become free. The court would, however, be very careful about giving judgment in the case of *out*door slaves, they being very nearly independent. On one occasion one family brought a case into court against another and very numerous family, to compel the latter to pay the *tabusan* and become free, as the latter positively would not work when called upon, the defence being that they were already free, having been P. Dipa's slaves, who had been declared free. After a long investigation into their antecedents and genealogy, the case was given against the defendants, it having been found that since P. Dipa had left Maka none of the family had really worked for the plaintiffs, and that one of them had freed himself. An appeal was made to the then resident of the Third Division, but the previous judgment was confirmed, notwithstanding a letter from P. Dipa himself in favour of the defendants. 567

When *in*door slaves contract debts, if such debts be trifling, amounting to only a few dollars, the masters are expected to pay; when the debt is considerable, should the master pay it, the amount is added to the *tabusan*, for which the slave is already responsible. Should the master be unable or unwilling to pay, the slave is assigned to work for him until the debt is paid off at the rate of $2·50 a month. Slave debtors are unknown. When a freeman becomes hopelessly in debt, he is either imprisoned or assigned to his creditor to work off the debt as above, the creditor providing food and clothing; or the terms of his assignment may be that he sail in his creditor's *prahu* (boat) during the whole season—$7·00 a voyage being allowed to and from Kuching, or $12·00 a voyage to and from Singapore. During the close season the debtor must work in his creditor's house, and have such reductions made off his debt as may be agreed upon by the court. It has happened in a few cases that a relation has paid a man's debt and the man has been assigned to work for his relation until the debt is cleared off; no monthly diminution being allowed, but even in this case the term slave-debtors has not been used. 567 426 426

In the old days, according to the old Dyak laws, people who were careless enough to set a house on fire rendered themselves liable to become slaves to those who had been burnt out and this may have gone on for two or three generations, so that the grandchildren were slaves by birth. On one occasion the son of an old woman whilst smoke-drying some fish, fell asleep 567 685

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

from their masters and mistresses, and they live all together and fare precisely the same, very often eating the same food at the same time from the same dish. In many cases children who have been taken captive become so endeared to their masters that they are adopted, and intermarry with the sons and daughters of the other inhabitants of the village.

The ceremony of adoption is usually performed at a great feast, so that the matter may be made as public as possible. The owner of the slave announces to the assembled guests that he has freed him and adopted him as his brother. He then presents to him a spear, with which he is told to slay the man who dares in future to call him a slave.

The old Dyak law concerning debts was that if a man borrowed paddy or rice from another, he must pay double that amount at the next harvest. If therefore a debtor had a succession of bad harvests, his debt would become so great that he could not ever hope to pay it off. If he paid part of his debt, then the following year he would be expected to pay double the amount still due. In process of time his debt would become so great that he and his family would have to become slaves in payment of it.

According to old Dyak laws people who were careless enough to set a house on fire rendered themselves liable to become the slaves of those who were burnt out. The damage done by their carelessness would be too great for them to compensate, so they would become slaves for debt.

Sir James Brooke made a law that after a certain number of years all slaves for debt were to be set free, so at present there are not any, except those who have grown old in the service of their masters, and do not wish for their freedom.

7:Gomes M-5 (ca. 1890)1911 OC6 Iban OC6

243 ready of farming implements, takes up seven or perhaps eight months of the year. The Sea Dyak has, therefore, a certain amount of time during which he can visit his friends, make boats, or hunt for jungle produce.

527 On certain occasions the Sea Dyaks muster in great force. At a feast a large number of them appear dressed in such finery as they possess, and they eat more than is good for them, and drink enough bad Dyak *tuak* (spirit) to make them very sick and to give them a bad headache for the next few days. At a large *tuba*-fishing crowds of them congregate with their hand-nets and fish-spears, and a pleasant sort of picnic is spent, attended, if they are fortunate, with the procuring of much fish.

735 The Sea Dyak has his bad times. When he has had a bad crop, he has to think of some means of raising money —not for luxuries in dress and food, but for the plain necessaries of rice and salt upon which many Dyaks have to live for several months in the year. On these occasions he will work for some Chinaman at the nearest bazaar for a low wage, or sell firewood to them for whatever they will give. If he possess such things, he sells some old brass gun or gong to buy food for his family. If he ● [426] be reduced to borrowing paddy from his neighbours, he will have to pay back the following year double the amount he has received.

461 Below the class of industrious workers whom I have
735 tried to depict, there is a lower stratum consisting of the failures. These are the lazy Dyaks, the poor workers, who have never by any possible chance enough paddy at the harvest to last them through the year; who live perpetually in an atmosphere of debt; who eke out their livelihood by selling wild-ferns and bamboo-shoots for the

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

DDD rendered to members of the same association and persons or groups who may be permitted entry into a particular form of business or type of employment. By manipulation of the same system of relationships, it is possible to deny access to productive means and goods to non-members or persons who pose a threat to members of the association.

The networks of relationships exist both hierarchically and horizontally. Hierarchically, trade in Sarawak is characterized at every level by partron client or creditor - debtor relationships. For example, a rural shopkeeper extends credit to fellow Chinese and Ibans, advancing foodstuffs and other goods in exchange for rubber and other products. In almost every instance, the customers stand in a situation of perpetual debt: daily taking cooking oil, salt, sardines or some other commodity, while paying towards the debt when able (or when they want to).[58] The rural shopkeepers, in turn, receive credit from larger merchants in Sibu, to whom they also are in debt. And the larger merchants stand in a client relationship to suppliers from either Singapore

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[58] The overextension of debts of break-down of relations between any pair in the patron-client situation can be financially ruinous. More than one shopkeeper has gone out of business because he could not collect his debts. As one who has been fairly successful said, "You have to impress upon the customer how much he needs you, for if you go out of business, there may be no other shop from which he can buy." Though the ground rules are generally understood by players, still traders at every level can be ruined unless the contracts are honored. One well-known timber tycoon of the Third Division found it expedient to move his home and office from a Rejang town to Kuching when debts owing to him exceeded M$40,000. "I knew I could never collect them," he said, "and the best way to maintain good relations and not lose any more money was to move to Kuching."

582 421 612. be so if siblings married, for they would receive only within their own bilik; hence, this is a tabooed union (jadi mali)."

582 602 612 A second reason given for preference of marriage within the kindred is that it permits maintenance of kinties. Marriage with non kinsmen weakens the network of the kaban both by failure to unite with kinsmen as well as by the introduction of strangers.

> "If we marry with strangers, people whom we don't know, we already are removing ourselves at some distance from our kinsmen. That's why we always (sic) look for a close kinsman, so that we won't break the ties (putus tali)."

582 554 612 789 A third reason offered by every informant with whom marriage regulations were discussed was of a more supernatural nature, but related to the first two reasons already discussed. Marriage within the kaban permits marriage with a person who has the evil eye or in some other way is a bearer of misfortune. It also insures that one's child or relative doesn't marry down, with some one of a lower class. How is the person of [558] lower class, the bearer of the evil eye recognized? The person of a lower class is a member of a family which never has enough rice, a descendant [157] of debt slaves, or a person plagued by failure. The Iban are highly motivated towards demonstrative achievement and, traditionally, the single ultimate criterion of success was a bountiful harvest year after year. 567 426 Occasionally, poor harvests and other misfortunes combined to produce circumstances in which a man had to become a debt slave (ulun leka rian or ulon buah rian) in order to survive. The debt slave was considered of

much lower status than the war captive (ulun tangkap or ulun berani) who might be redeemed and adopted, whereas the debt slave could not.

The bearer of the evil eye is recognzied because everything he attempts or touches turns out badly. For example, if he simply says of a neighbor's farm, "That's a nice stand of rice" (Manah endar padi nuan), the crop will wither in the husk. He can hex (tau' tepang) for he is hexed!

Further, because of each kin-group's individual history, it has numerous proscriptions, (pantang) which are peculiar to it: avoidance of macaque (kera'), python (sawa'), mynah (tiong), and so on. Marriage within the kaban insures that the partners will not come into conflict because of different taboos but will share the same ones (sama pantang).

However, while marriage within the bilateral kindred is preferred by the Iban for the reasons already discussed, in actual practice marriage generally is with a person who is not of one's kindred. Thus, of 31 marriages in Rumah Nyala, Aup, only seven were between members of the same kin-group (diri' sakaban), as indicated in Table 25.

TABLE 25

Marriage within Kindred Rumah Nyala

Relationship of Spouses	Uncle Niece	First Cousins	Second Cousins	Third Cousins	Fourth Cousins	Not Kaban
Incidence	2	1	2		2	24
Percentage	7	3	7		7	76

554 combination of events placed them in the right place at the right time so that they were able to perform some act of bravery, their names came to bear an aura and attributes such as cool (chelap) and invulnerable (kebal). The acquisition of trophies such as human heads (antu pala') and slaves (ulun berani), and the sponsorship of the requisite gawai, fully ratified their membership in the incipient artistocratic class (raja berani, "rich and brave").

The vast majority of the Iban were grouped into what may be described as commoners. Several terms are still current for this amorphous group: orang mayoh ("the crowd"), mensia saribu ("the thousands"), anembiak redak ("commoners"), and, by more class-conscious Ibans, orang tengan ("middle people"). Commoners were those who had achieved no distinction and had been accorded no position (pangkat). Moderately successful in farming and other activities, they either lacked the ability or had no inclination towards upward mobility. In the words of several Iban men, the commoners were free (vis-a-vis slaves) and followers.

561 727 [426] The third category of people of Iban society was that of slaves. As we have mentioned elsewhere, slaves (ulun) were of two types: ulun leka rian ("debt slaves") who, because of repeatedly unsuccessful attempts at farming, had to enslave themselves to some successful individual, usually a member of the highest class; and ulun berani ("slaves of bravery") who were captured during a raid on another community. The latter type of slave is said to have had the worse lot of the two, being given only left-over food and not even such basic comforts as blanket and mosquito net. Such treatment was not aimed primarily at causing suffering, but rather

Of the fifty-five members of Rumah Nyala who are wage-earners, seventeen commute daily to Sibu. Fifteen of the commuters are men and two are women.

It is among commuters and their families that the pattern of women doing the farm work and men supplementing the family's income with wages occurs. Unlike permanent residents in Sibu, among whom both husband and wife live in town and depend upon the husband's income, the commuters have realized the advantages of not having to buy their rice and at the same time having cash to buy other food and for other necessities and valuables.

In Rumahs Nyala, Imba and Gaong the main shophouses are maintained by commuters or, in their absence, other members of their families. The men who work in Sibu use the occasion of their daily trips to purchase goods for their shops as well as to dispose of any produce which they may have purchased from members of their communities. The success of each of these shops may be attributed to the diversification of activities - farming, wage-earning and shopkeeping - so that the families have other resources upon which they can call if one or the other fails them. It also may be attributed to the acumen of the men who manage to maintain amicable relations[10] with other members of the community yet at the same time are able to call in payments for debts so that they are not bankrupted by overextension of credit.

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[10] Local jealousies can quickly bring ruin to a business if other members of the community feel for whatever reason that they are being exploited by a fellow.